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# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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## INTERNATIONAL

### U.S. SAID TO VIOLATE AGREEMENTS ON NUCLEAR ARMS TESTS

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 22 Feb 84 pp 1-2

[Article by V. Gan: "They Don't Care Much About Treaties"]

[Text] An incident has occurred at the Rainier Mesa proving ground in the American state of Nevada that has greatly alarmed U.S. public opinion. After the underground explosion of a nuclear device soil caved in there. A group of testers fell into the crater formed. Some were hospitalised in grave condition.

According to the statement of W. Raywood, an expert from the University of Nevada, seismic tremours after the explosion reached 4.5 points on the Richter scale. This means that the power of the explosion was several times greater than the officially announced 20 kilotons. Moreover, the dimensions of the crater themselves effectively refute the assurances of the authorities that no outburst of radioactive substances was observed.

Professing the cult of force, the current U.S. administration does not bother about honouring its legal and political obligations and is often acting in circumvention and in direct violation of concluded agreements.

In the memorandum of the USSR, handed to the United States at the end of January 1984, it was pointed out, on irrefutable evidence, that there had been several instances of exceeding the established ceiling on tested-nuclear-charge yields by the American side. Apparently, the practice of exceeding the permitted yield level for nuclear charge tests continues, as, in particular, evidenced by the events in Nevada.

The accident there not only calls in question the observance by the United States of the provisions of the 1974 and 1976 treaties on underground nuclear weapon tests and on peaceful nuclear explosions, which the American side signed but has failed to ratify. Like litmus paper, this incident has again shown the danger of the rabid militarism of the U.S. ruling circles, bent on speeding the development of ever new instruments of the imperial "power politics."

(PRAVDA, February 22. Summary.)

CSO: 1812/140

## INTERNATIONAL

### USSR BACKS, U.S. OPPOSES UN INFORMATION DOCUMENT

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 20 Feb 84 pp 1-3

[Article by Yu. Kashlev, doctor of historical sciences: "Information Must Serve Progress"]

[Text] "The mass media of information have an important role in promoting understanding and cooperation among the nations and in the struggle for peace and the removal of war danger. And the efforts to ensure that these media should meet these noble aims to the largest possible extent will continue," stresses the author, analysing the results of the World Communication Year.

The World Communication Year, he writes in a PRAVDA article, is over. But the question of the role of the mass media in the modern world and their influence on it remains on the international agenda as one of the most urgent items.

Understandable is the striving of the developing countries, stresses the article, to get the adoption at the UN, UNESCO and other international forums of documents which would condemn the practice of "information imperialism," and protect their sovereignty in the cultural sphere; the adoption by the world community of measures to render them assistance in the creation of their own national systems of mass communication.

At the 38th session of the UN General Assembly the developing countries, recalls Y. Kashlev, submitted a draft of a resolution titled "Questions Relating to Information," in which the theme of struggle for a new international information order occupied the central place.

The Soviet Union and other socialist states supported this draft.

As for the Western countries, they first tried to emaciate the political content of the draft and persuade the authors to remove the anti-imperialist demands. An attempt was then made to prevent its adoption for financial reasons.

The voting brought final clarity to the lineup of forces. The absolute majority of UN member states supported the proposed resolution. Only three countries voted against it: the United States, Britain and Israel.

Following the results of the vote, the article says further, many commentators have arrived at a conclusion that the current U.S. administration, as part of its overall aggressive foreign-policy course, is ever more striving to exert direct pressure on world organisations, scuttle the development of just principles for international information exchanges and retain a free hand for ideological sabotage and psychological warfare against the forces of peace and progress.

Serving these aims to a considerable extent, notes the author, are the attacks being made by the U.S. administration against the United Nations, its attempts at blackmailing UNESCO by threatening withdrawal from this body unless it stops concerning itself with the questions of information and its attacks against the position of the developing countries and the nonaligned movement and the activity of democratic journalists' organisations. All this again shows to the world the true intentions of Washington.

The United States and its allies, in building up their capacities for broadcasting to foreign countries and speeding the development of direct TV transmissions beamable via communication satellites to the population of other countries, says the article, are primarily increasing allocations for their malicious propaganda and subversive activity. In the process they often rudely turn down the lawful demands of the developing countries for the decolonisation of information and their concept of a new international information order and are seeking to keep and reinforce control over the information being circulated in the developing countries, and to lay their hands on the information services emerging there.

(PRAVDA, February 20, Summary.)

CSO: 1812/140

## INTERNATIONAL

### U.S. MILITARY PLANS CALLED THREAT TO EUROPE, NOT ONLY TO USSR

Moscow NOVYY MIR in Russian No 12, Dec 83 pp 172-180

[Article by Ernst Genri: "Conspiracy against Europe"]

[Text] Half a century ago the author of these lines had occasion to publish in several countries a book entitled "Hitler over Europe," which was followed by a book entitled "Hitler against the USSR." Today it is necessary to return to the topic of a "threat to Europe," but there is now a different group of participants in the conspiracy.

Recently the map of an unprecedented great war has begun to emerge more and more clearly; it is being drawn in the Pentagon. Theaters of military actions are being planned for Europe, the Middle East, Africa, Asia, and Central America. They will take aim at the Atlantic, Pacific, Indian, and Arctic Oceans, as well as at the Mediterranean, Baltic, Black, Caribbean, Arabian, Red, and Japan Seas. Neither in World War I nor World War II was there such a scope of planned aggression. The Pentagon generals preparing these plans are indeed "going for broke."

In the most diverse places of the capitalist world extremely large American bases are being expanded or newly built. Deals are being made with the local governments and general staffs, and an uninterrupted campaign is being waged against the socialist countries. Negotiations with the Soviet Union on arms limitations have been artificially held up, and fantastic sums have been earmarked for the production of the latest weapons. All important political and economic questions are decided across the ocean from the viewpoint of preparing an aggression. Even the growth rate of Hitler's war machine in the mid- and late-1930's is not comparable with the feverish, headlong pace with which American militarists are now arming themselves. Nor do they conceal what they are getting ready for, although they talk about their own love of peace all the time.

But there is something which, as a rule, they pass over in silence in their circles. Even the most militant, anti-Soviet leaders in the United States restrain themselves when the question is brought up of the Pentagon's specific military-strategic plans.

In the West many persons still consider that American military plans are directed only against the USSR and the other socialist states. Is this really the case?

Nevertheless, American militarists cannot entirely conceal their strategic ideas. Their armaments themselves and the deployment of their positions abroad discloses a great deal. Judging by a series of data, the Pentagon's general plan consists of the following two parts.

The first clearly provides for a sudden, supposedly paralyzing nuclear strike at the USSR, inflicted by inter-continental ballistic missiles, submarine-launched missiles, and by bombers taking off from aircraft carriers. At the same time it is planned to utilize laser and other ray-type installations, as well as chemical and outer-space weapons. The goal here, as is well known, consists in the fact that, during the first few minutes and hours of the war, an attempt would be made to immediately put out of operation the armed forces of the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact countries.

If the United States could achieve a preponderance in weapons, then the operation in Eastern Europe--the most important in Washington's opinion--would also turn out to be the most rapid. Hence the constant, continuous, non-stop piling up and development by the United States of such weapons as the MX missiles, the Trident-2, long-range, cruise missiles, space ships designed to be used several times, and the Stealth aircraft. Hence the just-as non-stop attempts by American diplomats to achieve the superiority of the imperialist military forces.

It is necessary, however, to take into account the fact that the Pentagon's big strategic plan is not exhausted by inter-continental strikes against the USSR. This operation is, at the same time, designed to serve the goals of American aggression in Western Europe. Those commentators in the West who have already considered for years that here the United States and its NATO allies intend to limit themselves to "defensive" actions are profoundly mistaken. This is far from being the case.

In Western Europe the Pentagon is preparing not only strikes by Pershing missiles and medium-range, cruise missiles, but also a direct ATTACK: a concentrated aggression against the Warsaw Pact countries with the aid of the powerful forces of the imperialist coalition which have been concentrated here.

Moreover, there is a great deal which points to the fact that the main actions are envisaged not merely in the direction of the Elbe, Rhine, and the Baltic Sea, not only in the central and northern parts of Western Europe, but also in the southern portion of the continent, where since 1948 the big U.S. Mediterranean Fleet has been standing ready and where particularly influential pro-American forces have been operating. The operations in Central and Northern Europe are designed, evidently, to play an auxiliary role. The Mediterranean Sea, on the other hand, is regarded as the main U.S. position, as an American lake. The U.S. Sixth Fleet is stationed several thousand kilometers from American shores but is only a few hundred kilometers away from the southern shores of the USSR.

In the Pentagon they obviously consider that, with the aid of aircraft carriers, submarines, and strategic bombers it would be easier to penetrate the positions of the Warsaw Pact states in the South than it would be to do so in other regions. Thereby the fate of such NATO members as Italy, Turkey and



Greece has been cast on the map unceremoniously; such also is the fate of Spain, Cyprus, Malta, the states of Northern Africa and the Middle East. One way or another the biggest forces of the Atlantic bloc have been concentrated precisely in the zone of the Mediterranean Sea, with the spearhead pointed at the East and Northeast.

It bears recalling that, purely geographically, this very same strategic aim was taken by the Western powers also in the previous great wars in Europe. As far back as the years of World War I Britain and France at Churchill's insistence undertook an unsuccessful attempt to seize the Dardanelles, the Bosphorus, and Constantinople. A landing was carried out in Greece; several years later Izmir in Turkey was occupied. And it was then that the British went onto the offensive from the direction of the Arab East, advancing from Mesopotamia. In November 1918 Anglo-French interventionists, as is known, landed on the Black Sea coast of the Soviet Republic for the purpose of aiding the White Guardists to strike at the Red Army and go as far as Moscow.

This is the very same direction toward Southern Europe and the Balkans which Churchill chose at the end of World War II, when the American and British troops were ordered to land in Italy and Greece. The actual, long-term but then still-secret goal was still the same: to advance from various sides toward the southern regions of the USSR. Now this "geo-strategy," as undertaken by the Pentagon, has a still more direct, class-type meaning.

By the end of the 1970's the United States, the NATO member-countries, and Britain had in the Mediterranean Sea approximately 500 warships of the basic classes and patrol boats, 400 carrier-based and land-based patrol aircraft. This included as many as 6 atomic-powered, missile-carrying submarines, considered to be a means of inflicting nuclear strikes upon major military objectives, administrative and industrial centers located along the coastal regions as well as deep inland.

Deemed as a reserve of the offensive nuclear forces is the aircraft-carrier unit of the U.S. Sixth Fleet located here; it has been charged with the task of playing a particularly important role. The deck-based aircraft of this unit, whose radius of action extends up to 2,000 kilometers, are, in all probability, also designed for nuclear attacks. Thus, everything is essentially in American hands. It is undoubtedly the case that powerful aggressive forces have been assembled here. It is not by chance that in Pentagon circles the U.S. 6th Fleet is called a big stick for a big job.

In the zone of the Mediterranean Sea large-scale NATO exercises are constantly being conducted, and landings are practiced in the rear or the flanks of the enemy's forces. In 1982, for example, about 20 NATO exercises were carried out with the participation of the 6th Fleet's aircraft carriers. Taking part in the "Distant Drum" exercise during May 1982 on the territories of Italy and Turkey were as many as 60 ships and auxiliary vessels of the United States, Britain, Italy, Turkey, and France. Included among the landing forces in a state of constant combat-readiness are units of American Marines.

What purpose does all this have? Judging by various completely reliable sources of information, the American strategists have envisaged three main strikes in the southeastern part of Europe: an attack on the Balkans, an attack on the Soviet Black Sea coast, and an attack on the Caucasus. Serving as the base of origin for all directions is the Mediterranean Sea, and the main source of support is that same U.S. 6th Fleet.

This time it is planned to turn the Balkans not into a powder keg but into an exploding nuclear magazine. There has been nothing more dreadful in the many-centuried history of this region. Bulgaria, Romania, Yugoslavia, and Albania have, in fact, been condemned by the imperialists to annihilation, while the same catastrophe is to happen to Greece and Turkey. An analogous fate has been prepared for Italy, Malta, and Cyprus.

It is characteristic that in the U.S. and NATO exercises in the Mediterranean Sea naval-supported landings in the zone of the straits leading out of the Black Sea have been allocated particular importance. It is obviously being considered as a goal to seize a staging area in order to subsequently hurl troops northward. As far back as April 1978 the Austrian military journal TRUPPENDIENST noted that the task of the 6th Fleet is "to combat the Soviet Black Sea Fleet regardless of land operations." The leading West German right-wing newspaper DIE WELT on 22 January 1980, in turn, underscored the fact that NATO's southeastern flank constitutes not a barrier but rather a "platform for an offensive."

It is clear that the imperialists are also planning an aggression aimed at the Transcaucasus for the purpose of capturing sources of petroleum as well as to link up with pro-American forces in the Middle East further south.

In June 1983 in the Turkish areas of Kars and Erzurum in direct proximity to the borders of the Soviet Union large-scale maneuvers of NATO mobile forces under the name "Adventure Express-83," with the participation of the United States, Britain, the FRG, Italy, and Belgium. These maneuvers, the first multi-national ones in Turkey's eastern regions, were termed unprecedented in their scope by the NATO Staff Headquarters. General Rogers, the supreme commander of the NATO armed forces in Europe, who attended these maneuvers, frankly declared that they had as their goal to thoroughly demonstrate NATO's readiness "in case of a crisis situation arising" to hurl the mobile forces of the North Atlantic bloc into the eastern regions of Turkey. In other words, the Transcaucasian front is being prepared in Washington in accordance with all the rules.

Further to the south in this same zone U.S. pressure is being stepped up on Syria, Lebanon, and--indirectly, through certain other Arab states--on the Palestinians. At the other end of the southern shoreline of the Mediterranean Sea a direct intervention by the United States is being planned with the participation of the 6th Fleet. During the summer of 1983 an American squadron appeared off the shores of Libya. And it was at this time that the military manoeuvres entitled "Bright Star-83" were conducted on Egypt's territory with the participation of American rapid-deployment forces, as well as those of Egypt, Somalia, Sudan, and Oman. Events in Chad during the same summer of 1983 are to be explained, of course, not only by questions of African politics,

but again by Washington's "big" Mediterranean policy. All this is part of that same over-all strategic plan encompassing this region.

Everything boils down to the intention to break through from the southern part of Europe into the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. In this regard the Pentagon generals are following certain ideas of Hitler during the course of World War II. That is why the events occurring during our own times in the countries of the Mediterranean orbit--not only on its northern but also on its eastern and southern shores--deserve particular attention. And hence the feverish activity of American diplomacy in this region.

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The anti-European plans of American imperialism are not, of course, limited to military-strategic calculations. In places where the peoples of the Western European countries are prepared to offer serious resistance to these plans, which threaten the very existence of entire nations, the United States (simultaneously with military aggression) is already conducting a masked political aggression. Study of American policy during the last few years leads one to the conclusion that various means have been outlined in Washington to bring about the maximum controls over Western Europe.

Economically--this is being done by means of an unrelenting and merciless pressure on the economic organism of Western European countries, pressure on their currency and credit for the purpose of perpetuating their financial dependence on the United States, as well as pressure on their exports and imports, on their long-term accounts.

At the same time particular pressure is being put on including Western European monopolies in American trans-national corporations. This is not being conducted unsystematically, on a case by case basis, but methodically and obviously according to a broadly outlined plan. As a result, not only the enterprises which have been taken over or "attached" by such a means are falling into the sphere of direct U. S. influence, but so too are their local owners, bankers and shareholders, the magnates of Western European business.

And they are not the only ones. At the same time--and not in last place precisely in connection with the incursion of the trans-national monopolies and with the reinforcement of these countries' dependence on the United States--what is being stimulated is the visible and invisible conversion of a number of Western European bourgeois politicians into the the pro-American camp. As a rule, this now pertains primarily to conservative and "liberal" figures. At times, however, right-wing reformist figures have also been woven into this network.

On the other flank the United States is playing a deeply conspiratorial game with Western European factions of a different persuasion--with right-wing authoritarian circles and even with fascists. This game has been very carefully concealed, remaining, as it were, an ace up the sleeve, but there is no doubt whatsoever that it is being played. In Italy, where the large neo-fascist party known as the "Italian Social Movement" is active, numbering about 300,000



members and which has been dreaming for years already about seizing power together with the pro-American military clique, even the newspapers sometimes write about such ties.

The American agents, moreover, allow the neo-fascists to hope for precisely that which they are counting on--the unleashing by the United States at a certain time of an anti-Soviet war. The heirs of Hitler, Mussolini, and Franco during the 1980's are preparing for a situation whereby, at the very beginning of such a war and even before it, they can offer their services to the pro-American dictators attempting to come into power in Western Europe--services as units of executioners, meting out rough justice to the advocates of peace.

One does not have to look very hard to find documentary evidence testifying to the fact that the neo-fascists, as a rule, are everywhere keying on American "hawks" and on the military-authoritarian circles linked with them in Western Europe itself. Suffice it to enumerate their publications, such as, for example, the journal NATION EUROPA, published in Koburg (FRG) by an international society of former SS-men and their disciples, in order to be convinced that what the neo-fascists now fear most of all is a strengthening of detente. Thus, for example, as far back as March 1981 the journal NATION EUROPA was not only advocating Euro-strategic missiles and neutron bombs but was also proposing to supplement this by the development of conventional weapons and an increase of the NATO land forces, including those of the Bundeswehr--the West German army, a certain portion of whose command consists of Hitler's former officers. In this connection the following fact is noteworthy. It was reported not so long ago that in Bonn, in case of an exacerbation of the international situation, provisions have been made to increase the number of the Bundeswehr from half a million to 2 million persons.

There are also grounds for believing that the neo-fascist terrorist bands, which have terrified the population of Western Europe for years, are being secretly financed by these same American extremists and their accomplices. Here the Neo-Nazis could have referred back to the case of Hitler, who at the beginning of his career in Munich used to receive generous subsidies from Henry Ford in Detroit. At that time Hitler also placed his bet on the American militarists who had taken part in the armed intervention against the Soviet Republic. The dependence on such ultra-reactionary forces beyond the ocean has now increased 10-fold among the heirs of Hitler. According to the calculations of such circles in Washington, this should also in due course increase the effectiveness of their operations with regard to Americanizing the political scene in Western Europe. The "liberals" and right-wing social-democrats, on the one hand, the crypto-neo-fascists and generals on white horses, on the other hand--but the ultimate tendency is essentially the same.

Particular importance in the plans for subordinating Europe to the United States is also ascribed to the deep penetration of American intelligence into the intelligence systems of the Western European states. This is primarily influential in West Germany, Italy, and Britain. In these countries one can already speak of the existence of a large intelligence community, which includes, under the aegis of the CIA, the British Intelligence Service, the West German Nachrichtendienst, and the Italian Intelligence.

Although rivalry among the participants in this collusion has not ceased in certain cases, in the main, in the anti-Soviet thrust of their operations, they are undoubtedly acting in concert on the qt. Thus, the imperialists from across the ocean have acquired an additional possibility of influencing by means of persons entrusted by them the policy of the right-wing Western European parties. This is an invisible but effective part of the entire American strategy in Western Europe.

There is something else which is just as important for these same forces: the merging together by means of NATO of the leading military staff personnel of the United States, the FRG, Britain, Italy, and the other countries which have been drawn into the North Atlantic bloc.

The present-day generals of Western Europe are already, to a considerable extent, an Americanized body of generals. An American general is invariably appointed as supreme commander of the NATO armed forces; he represents the all-powerful National Security Council located in Washington. In all the NATO staffs without exception the Western European officers operate under the control of the American officers. Thereby, U.S. hegemony is reinforced from the other end as well. In case of critical events in the international arena such a merging of the senior military staff personnel could play a particular role, and the Pentagon is consciously counting on this.

In this connection, it is not without interest that recently in London an association of right-wing parties from 19 countries in the West was founded under the name "International Democratic Alliance." Participating here were all the principal reactionary parties of the capitalist world in particular, those of Western Europe, ranging from the British Conservatives and the West German Christian Democrats to the Austrian Clericalists. Speeches of welcome were delivered by Britain's prime minister, Mrs. Thatcher, and U.S. Vice President G. Bush.

It was declared that all such organizations are called upon to act in concert from now on. Mrs. Thatcher emphasized the following: "It is not enough to be merely defensive. We must formulate our principles so as to have the opportunity to influence others" (that is, to go onto the offensive). Reagan's emissary Bush underscored these words, giving assurances that the North Atlantic alliance, as before, was prepared "to take all the necessary measures" and "to make any sacrifices" in order "to have the necessary forces to hold the line." It was not said against whom these forces were prepared to hold the line. It is doubtless that, in addition to the official sessions, negotiations took place behind closed doors. Elected as one of the seven deputy chairmen of this association was the leader of the West German extreme right-wingers, the prime minister of Bavaria, the revanchist Strauss. Judging by everything, he may also be considered the soul of the "International Democratic Alliance." But behind his back and behind the back of Mrs. Thatcher there stands the former head of American intelligence, Bush.

An entire series of participants in this newly created organization of parties are in power in their own countries, having at their disposal all the means and weapons of a state apparatus. All the participants, as a rule, are violent, fanatical anti-communists. But not only by reason of their ideology.

Philosophy alone does not explain everything here. Almost every participant in the London compact is connected by some ties or others with the international military-industrial complex.

Suffice it to name just this very same Strauss. This head of the Bavarian ultra has for years now been taking part in the private dealings of at least four of the leading West German military monopolies: the aviation and rocket concern of the Messerschmidts, the tank concern of the Fliecks, the atomic-chemical concern of the old I. G. Farben group, and the military concern of the Quandts, heirs of the Goebbels family. Each of these concerns is linked in one way or another with the largest American corporations. Mrs. Thatcher is supported by British big business, which is likewise particularly involved in orders from NATO. It could be asserted that this alliance of Western European right-wingers resembles a branch of Reagan's Republican Party and, at the same time, an ancillary agency of NATO.

Why was this organization founded so suddenly at precisely this time? What was it which impelled the right-wing forces in Western Europe to urgently proclaim their own mobilization? There can be no doubt as to the answer.

The right-wing circles which have been in power here have recently become utterly convinced that a considerable portion of the population of their countries refuses flatly to allow the transformation of their own territories into a staging area for a murderous nuclear war. Reagan's allies in Western Europe no longer have any doubts that in the future developments matters may reach a stage of such dreadful clashes with their own peoples such has not occurred during the entire wartime period. They fear for their own power.

What awaits them on the morrow? Such a dramatic turn of events was not foreseen earlier in London, Bonn, or Rome. But Washington will not allow them to retreat. And that is why these circles have decided to establish and coordinate an anti-popular strategy well ahead of time.

Some kinds of draconian measures against the followers of the anti-war movement, judging by everything, have already been provided for. It has been recommended, for example, that the NATO countries should firmly provide ahead of time for mutual cooperation between the police and military units, as well as tightening up the laws limiting the rights of citizens to participate in demonstrations. Techniques are being worked out to deal roughly with protesters in the streets. According to press information, a special secret group has already been created in London, consisting of the ministers of defense, domestic affairs, and other key figures; it has been entrusted with the task of coordinating and carrying out measures against the anti-war movement. The possibility has not been excluded that special courts will also be put into operation.

But is it possible to turn entire peoples over to the courts? In the White House they obviously consider that the customary repressions against those Europeans who say "No" will not be enough. Are the right-wing forces in Western Europe, in case of a serious complication of their position, counting on using military force (with the blessings of the Pentagon and NATO) against the anti-war movement? The results of the latest elections in Britain and the FRG, which weakened the Laborites and the Social Democrats, have obviously

made the right-wingers drunk with power, and the possibility of some kinds of unbridled actions on their part can scarcely be excluded. And Bush hinted at something like this in his speech at the gathering in London.

There can be no doubts about the fact that the American generals on the NATO staff are not at all averse to engaging in any adventures. As far back as the years of the "cold war" a whole series of classified documents became known; they contained directives from this staff to the governments of the Western European countries. Without any compunctions they forewarned the allies of the United States that special American units (now called rapid-deployment forces) would immediately come to their "aid," if the allies should encounter a "communist threat," i. e., if the Western European reactionaries, having become afraid of the people, attempt to set up military-dictatorial regimes in their own countries. Now this would signify that the American "Pershings" and winged missiles would be further supplemented by American diversionaries, specially trained for terrorist actions. It is also a well-known fact that such circles as Strauss's followers in the FRG, the right-wing generals in Italy, and right-wing military cliques in Spain, Portugal, and Greece have long dreamed passionately about such adventures.

The fact that such interference on the part of the United States in the internal affairs of Western Europe would inevitably lead to there being victims among rank-and-file, peaceful Europeans is of little concern to the Pentagon strategists and is of equally little concern to the Western European reactionaries. The main thing for them is--no matter what--to maintain power in their own hands, to prevent the placing of limitations on the arms race, and to block a peaceful agreement with the Soviet Union. That is why, in continuing their desperate game, they are hastily uniting together at this time.

It is undoubtedly true that, in the final analysis, this game is doomed to failure. In this century the reactionary parties will ultimately and certainly lose their bets. The historical ratio of forces has changed once and for all not in their favor, and they cannot reverse this process. Hence their adventurism.

Nevertheless, we must not, of course, underestimate the present-day weight of the right-wing parties in the West. Taking part in them are not only leaders from among the big bourgeoisie but also petit and middle-level bourgeois types and even the most backward, deceived workers, who have lost confidence in the right-wing Social Democrats. Also under their control is the motley mass of philistines whom they constantly frighten with the "communist menace." The organizers of the right-wing international now undoubtedly intend to push this fear tactic to the limit.

The British Conservative Party numbers approximately 3 million members, the West-German Christian Democratic Party--about 705,000, the Austrian Conservative People's Party--about 900,000, and the Bavarian Christian Social Union--170,000. Mrs. Thatcher, in speaking at the London gathering of right-wingers, declared that their international alliance represented "150 voters, i. e., twice as many as the Socialist International." Whether this is true or not, the plans of these forces have indeed been drawn out with a consideration not for Western European voters but rather for the trans-oceanic missiles.



Thus, the American imperialists are methodically, step-by-step infiltrating the organism of the Western European state system, counting on completely subordinating it to themselves sooner or later.

3

Of course, the anti-Soviet preparations of the Pentagon have not been limited to Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa. At the same time, plans are being made in Washington for an attack on the USSR from the opposite side, from East Asia, with the aid of Japan, which is becoming attached to the global network of American imperialism. Nevertheless, the principal schemes of the extremist wing among the imperialists are still directed at Europe, all the more so in that calculations are being made not only for a strike against its socialist portion but also at subjugating the entire continent. Revolving around these plans is likewise the "big policy" of the Reagan group, which has become entrenched in Washington's National Security Council. Nobody can say beforehand how all this, in the final analysis, threatens the Western Europeans. How many of the millions of people living in these countries would survive? In case of an aggression on our continent by the United States and NATO, what would be left, for example, of the narrow "boot" of Italian territory? It was not by chance that the Italian newspaper UNITA, based on documentary information, wrote not so long ago that the "densely populated region of Friuli--Venezia Julia, according to the NATO plans, was supposed to become scorched earth." And this is only one of many such examples.

Despite all this, that very same Italy has agreed to the deployment of 112 winged missiles on its territory, and in 1983, also upon American orders, it is spending 12,000 billion lire for military purposes. They will not question it. During the summer of 1981 the well-known Roman journal PANORAMA informed its readers that in the operative plan of the supreme high command of the American forces in Europe the number "100-7" indicates that the "use of nuclear weapons in allied countries is to be carried out by American officers without the need to obtain the permission of the national authorities."

The right-wing American senator, R. Russel, declared as follows in January 1983: "If we have to begin all over again (after a nuclear war--E. G.) with another Adam and Eve, then I would like them to be Americans and not Russians, and I would like them to be preserved on the American continent rather than in Europe." By these words Russel affirmed in a playful form that he sees nothing monstrous in the possibility of millions of Europeans disappearing from the face of the earth. And this senator is not alone.

The supreme commander of the NATO armed forces, General B. Rogers, who does not engage in jokes, was asked the following question by a correspondent of the French newspaper LIBERATION: "Would you press the button (for a first strike--E. G.) even if you knew that this would bring about a sudden nuclear conflict?" Without thinking it over, the general answered: "A nuclear weapon must be employed sufficiently ahead of time so that it can hit a target not located on our own territory."

That is, in Europe.

And that is the way the "hawks" are thinking now. And is not Reagan really thinking about the same thing when he proposes a "limited" nuclear war?

"We can only use land-based, cruise missiles in Europe," Rear Admiral G. La-roque, director of the American Information Center for Military Problems.

"We waged World War I in Europe, we fought in Europe during World War II, and we would like to wage World War III likewise in Europe."

And here are the words of the Italian senator, Nino Pasti: "In case of a war, the destruction of Europe would be much more advantageous to the United States, if this would help it to achieve a goal such as the annihilation of the Soviet Union."

Is this the onset of acute insanity? Psychiatrists may possibly confirm this at some time in the future. But when the madmen have at their disposal more than 2 trillion dollars for spending on military preparations over the course of several years, the question goes beyond the framework of medicine.

Thus, there is a great deal which points to the fact that American imperialism, under the banner of fighting the communist "concentration of evil," is proceeding to a continental form of aggression. In striving to seize all of Europe, Hitler attempted to do something similar in the interests of the old German imperialism. It is clear that in our own times the national framework has become too constricting for the super-monopolies, and the most powerful of them, together with the military cliques, are indeed striving for hegemony over individual continents, and then to seize the entire globe.

It is also clear that none of the other capitalist powers is now capable of being a rival to American imperialism in this striving. On the contrary, a number of them, as is known, are assisting the United States. As a result of World War II, all the old European imperialist states--Germany, Britain, Japan, France--were weakened, and now some of them, such as Britain, have consciously made the transition to a position of being under the guardianship of the United States.

Already now, in fact, America dominates the world capitalist system, although, once in a while, it encounters resistance from the countries dependent on it.

The idea of world hegemony is not, of course, put forth openly by the Americans, but that is precisely what is at issue here. Europe occupies first place in these plans of Washington's. The seizure by the Pentagon of control over most of the European armies by means of NATO has already been more than half accomplished; the takeover of the Western European bourgeois-political and propaganda forces is proceeding, as we have said, on a non-stop basis. While controlling Europe in the military and political spheres, the Washington "hawks" consider that coping with Africa and Asia is not such a difficult matter. Political fantasies in these astoundingly adventurist ideas are constantly alternating with strategic ones. That is why present-day American imperialism is "going for broke."

But could America really take over Europe? Only military fantasists of the type represented by the right-wing Pentagon generals, the most slow-witted

of the "hawks," and the frenzied, professional anti-communists could believe in such a thing.

As regards the communality of the socialist countries, there can be no dispute at all. It is not just because there will be no preponderance of American and NATO armaments either today or tomorrow. The socialist countries have already proclaimed that they will never allow this. Europeans in the central and southeastern parts of the continent are united by an unbreakable alliance with the USSR. All attempts to shatter this alliance, as was recently attempted in Poland, are doomed to failure.

But that is not all. Another factor is also important.

In developing their own plans, the American imperialists have counted on support in Europe from the NATO states. They still do not wish to understand that within the NATO portion of Western Europe there is already a kind of anti-NATO in operation: a powerful, all-peoples' movement for peace. This is not a supposition but rather an actual fact. It is undoubtedly the case that, if matters got to the stage of an American aggression, millions of peace advocates would mobilize all their forces for an active resistance.

To be sure, in that case, the "hawk" strategists intend to establish military dictatorships and even pro-fascist regimes in the Western European countries. In case of "crisis situations" here, provisions have been made for a lightning-like seizure of power by the right-wing generals, police, and pro-fascist bands. It is certainly understood that they would be assisted by hastily transported special American units--evidently, those same ones which are now being prepared in the Mediterranean for landing operations, and they are not the only ones. The disposition of the NATO staff entitled "Prometheus" contained detailed instructions to the local military cliques: how they should act so as not to be late and how to seize the initiative from the left-wingers. There is every grounds for considering that such instructions have now been refined and "perfected" especially for each Western European country. Engaging in this are special political divisions on the NATO and CIA staffs.

Thus, it is absolutely impossible to ignore the fact of the powerful anti-war movement within the capitalist world when making comparisons between the forces existing in the global arena. But this extremely important factor has not been dealt with up to this time.

Certain NATO countries, such as Greece, for example, have already officially declared their lack of desire to take part in NATO adventures. In the Balkans attitudes are growing in favor of transforming this region into a nuclear-free zone, and the same thing is to be observed in the northern portion of Western Europe. It is still not known whether or not Spain will decide to join NATO. Nor is everything OK for NATO in the other Mediterranean countries either. The contradictions between the United States and Western Europe, despite the ruthless American pressure, are in no way becoming ameliorated, but are rather increasing. In essence, what is happening is that American imperialism is inciting all of mankind against itself.

As already mentioned, in 1936 the author of these lines published a book entitled "Hitler against the USSR" (in Moscow it came out in 1937 and 1938), where, on the basis of a detailed study of the political, military, and economic facts, as well as the ratio of forces of the sides getting ready to oppose each other, he came to the conclusion that the defeat of Hitler's Germany, despite its enormous might, was inevitable. With just the same kind of confidence he is convinced today of the inevitability of defeat for any aggressor against the USSR and against Europe. Those who would start this would receive from the countries subjected to attack the most crushing blow in their history. Now matter how America's anti-communism and anti-Europeanism turn out, Europe will never be conquered by American billionaires.

The Soviet Union's position is extremely clear and is no secret for anyone: the USSR is decisively and categorically opposed to turning Europe or any other territories into a field of catastrophic nuclear combat. It is thinking not merely about itself. The Soviet people know that the people of all countries do not want themselves and their children to be annihilated in the whirlwinds of a thermo-nuclear hurricane, nor do they want their grandchildren, if any of them survive, to be transformed into Neanderthals.

But this is precisely the prospect which present-day imperialism presents to the world. From a historical point of view, this is the final stage to which it is attempting to lead mankind. The forewarning about the prospects for a "universal running wild," which Engels made almost a hundred years ago in his introduction to S. Borheim's pamphlet, is coming true today in a literal sense.

The Soviet Union is doing everything to put an end to the mad arms race and thereby remove the threat of death which hangs over the world, and primarily over Europe. Its proposals to the West with this purpose in mind have come one after the other on the most diverse questions, and if they were to be gathered together for the last two or three years alone, they would comprise an entire book.

No single state has ever waged such an uninterrupted, unceasing, persistent struggle for peace. Nobody can dispute this. The United States has militarized Western Europe, militarized the Mediterranean, militarized the Middle East, Japan, and other regions, and it now intends to militarize outer space. The Soviet Union stands for complete and final elimination of the threat of war from people's lives; it is striving to concentrate on peaceful socialist construction. History will not forget either one or the other.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### PEACE FUND CHAIRMAN DISCUSSES ORGANIZATION'S ACTIVITIES

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 23 Feb 84 pp 1-5

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA interview with Anatoliy Yevgen'yevich Karpov, chairman of the board of the Soviet Peace Fund: "Soviet Peace Fund Helps Peace Champions Throughout the World"]

[Text] KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA: Many of our readers would like to know a few things about the history of the Soviet Peace Fund.

Karpov: So as to understand why the fund was set up one should recall the atmosphere prevalent in the first few postwar years. Our people came to understand through much suffering that peace is the supreme blessing, the most treasured thing on earth and that no effort should be spared to advance the cause of peace. Many people in various parts of the country started forwarding donations to newspaper editorial offices, various governmental departments and the Soviet Peace Committee. By donating their money, independently of each other and quite voluntarily, of course, all of them wanted to promote the "cause of peace." Many people donated their jewelry, collections of coins and family relics. As donations grew in size and number, the idea was conceived to set up a special fund for centralized accounting of the money and its rational use. The new fund's sponsors were the Soviet Peace Committee, the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, the Soviet Women's Committee, the Soviet War Veterans Committee, the Committee of Youth Organisations and other public organisations. And thus the Soviet Peace Fund came into existence in 1961.

The history of the fund refutes Western allegations to the effect that the Soviet peace movement has been "instituted from above." It was not because the fund had been set up that millions of people started donating money to it, but rather the fund was born of the enormous flow of donations made to advance the cause of peace.

At the present time money is donated to the fund by 85 million Soviet people, that is every third citizen of the country or, statistically, each Soviet family. No one is surprised at seeing a poster hanging over a lathe or on the windshield of a bus, taxicab or a locomotive, saying: "Today I am working for the Peace Fund." Such events, when entire work collectives donate the wages

they earn during a "day of peace" to the fund, have become traditional in many cities and villages of our country. Donating money to the Peace Fund ennobles a man and boosts his morale, as he feels he has made a personal contribution to the most important thing on earth--preventing a nuclear holocaust.

Question: Campaigning for peace is a multi-faceted affair. It boils down, above all, to the peaceable foreign policy pursued by the CPSU and the Soviet Government. It also boils down to boosting the defence capability of our country, the bulwark of international security. What is the fund's role in the overall bid for peace, a major task facing us at the present time?

Answer: We owe the chance to live in peace to the Soviet Leninist foreign policy consistently pursued by the CPSU. Suffice it to recall how many initiatives aimed at defusing international tensions and curbing the arms race have been advanced by Moscow during the past few years.

Each passing year witnesses the growing role of the public in campaigning for peace. Now that millions have joined the ranks of those opposing the nuclear threat both in the East and West, people around the world seem to have developed better mutual understanding. As they realize the common danger, they rally their ranks. In spite of different views and world outlooks, peace champions from different countries attending various international peace forums and rallies manage to find a common language and arrive at similar conclusions as regards the future of peace. Soviet peace champions, including the fund's activists contribute immensely to this campaign, as they tirelessly explain to their counterparts in the West our approach to the questions of security, the arms race and another war. The dialogue conducted by peace champions from various countries has resulted in mapping out plans for joint or concurrent anti-war actions.

There is yet one more aspect to the fund's activity. To take part in various international events in support of peace, such as the World Assembly for Peace and Life and Against Nuclear War held in Prague last summer, or the Bike for Peace-83, or any world peace demonstration, Soviet peace champions need money. The money is provided by the Peace Fund which finances the events held by the Soviet Peace Committee, the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, and other public organisations in our country.

Some Western politicians claim that the Soviet peace movement is maintained by the government which provides all the money for holding various actions in support of peace. They do so partly because they have not been properly briefed on the subject and partly because they want to besmirch the Soviet peace movement. In actual fact, the movement is solely subsidised from donations to the Peace Fund.

The fund's role is also in that 350,000 commissions to promote the fund's activities set up in all the republics, territories and regions of our country are engaged in the peace publicity campaign, explaining the CPSU's bid for peace and the international situation and rallying the working people in the overall drive for peace.

Question: While promoting the internationalism of our people, the Soviet Peace Fund renders aid to the victims of aggression and genocide. Please, comment.

Answer: Yes, the rendering of such aid amounts to one of the most important aspects of the fund's activity. Indicatively, each new aggression launched by the imperialists triggers a fresh flow of donations to the fund accompanied by requests to help those who have fallen victim to the aggression. Our people remember their own sufferings and misfortunes and so cannot be indifferent to the plight of other nations. These sentiments seem to be strong even among the younger generation.

As a rule, this aid is rendered together with the Soviet Red Cross, the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, the Soviet Women's Committee, the Soviet Peace Committee, and other public organisations of our country.

Question: It seems that young people are increasingly involved in solving all the fundamental problems facing our society. In what way does the younger generation take part in the fund's activity?

Answer: We receive a great deal of money from young workers, collective farmers, students and schoolchildren, which indicates that the younger citizens of our country are aware from childhood that one of the most important things on earth is to campaign for peace.

The many millions taking part in the Soviet Youth Peace March announced by the 19th Congress of the Young Communist League have contributed handsomely to the fund. Along with mass rallies and demonstrations held throughout the country a shock work campaign is being encouraged by them, with the wages thus earned donated to the Peace Fund. Several thousand teams of young workers have made heroes of the Great Patriotic War honorary team members and they fulfill their production quotas for them and donate the wages thus earned to the Soviet Peace Fund. Students donate to the fund the money they earn when they work on construction projects during their summer vacations. Schoolchildren do the same, if they manage to earn some money while helping grownups harvest crops, collect medicinal herbs, etc.

"To advance the cause of peace and friendship among nations," "To safeguard peace is the concern of all honest people of the world," "Please, help Palestinian refugees," "To help the children of political inmates in Chile," "For the children of those fighting for freedom and independence in the south of Africa"--such short messages usually accompany many money orders mailed to the fund.

I would also like to stress that the activists of the fund are largely helped by the Young Communist League's organisations. I could quote many examples of our fruitful joint work in promoting the internationalist and patriotic upbringing of the younger generation.

Transcript by S. Khanzhin  
(KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, January 31. Abridged)

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## INTERNATIONAL

### OLD-FASHIONED MILITARISM OF COMMUNIST POLITICAL LANGUAGE CRITICIZED

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 11, 1983 (signed to press 13 Oct 83) pp 2-5

[Article by Teymuraz Stepanov\*, Tbilisi: "Not Considering Three in One"]

[Excerpt] We don't have to become like ostriches and, hiding our heads in the sand, close our eyes to problems of the ability of our information to compete. The call to realism which was sounded at the June plenum requires that we not turn away from the truth even if it wounds the sight. In particular, however much this reality may strike the eyes, we are no longer monopolists on the internal information front, either. The information and propaganda situation in the country, as the authors of special studies assert, consists of the fact that the population receives satisfaction only from comprehensive, frank information.

Three or four years ago, the special correspondent of the FINANCIAL TIMES in Moscow, David (Sattor), called on us in the agency. He began the talk with viticulture and wine making and then, excusing himself, requested permission to ask, as he expressed it, several pointed questions about "Georgian reality." The questions indeed proved to be jagged, true, rather heavily ground down from frequent rolling in the Western press. Colleague (Sattor) received a straight, candid answer to each of them. And he "conscientiously" presented all the facts--in the sequence in which they were communicated to him. The word "conscientiously" must be taken in quotation marks--Mr. (Sattor's) conscience proved to be bad; it ordered him to interpret the facts which had been obtained in such a way that a new position which differed fundamentally from mine emerged. And his author's attitude was displayed in this.

For example, in the talk about inter-nation relations in multi-lingual, international Tbilisi I referred to our history which taught my fellow citizens to treasure friendship above all. Next we spoke of the phenomenon of national cultures which are experiencing their best times in our country today. On this basis, Mr. (Sattor) provides a pseudo-scientific passage about "Marxism-Leninism which is supplanting religion and culture," and so that this lie seems to be more digestible, he precedes it with the following information, if one can call it

\* Teymuraz Georgiyevich Stepanov (Mamaladze) was born in 1934. He has worked in the press for 24 years. He is now the director of the State Information Agency with the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers. He is a winner of the Prize of the Soviet Union of Journalists.



that: "...The sense of history and understanding of its vicissitudes, perhaps, are caused by the fact that an atmosphere of great tolerance usually reigns in Georgia. Jewish, Armenian, and Azerbaijan housing areas are located near an old synagogue. Armenians sometimes irritate their neighbors, rooting for the Yerevan team during soccer matches with the Tbilisi team. But there is little genuine hostility between the peoples populating Georgia."

In this excerpt, the purpose of the information is hidden in its context. (Sattor) knows the value of nuances. If we are discussing great tolerance then, obviously, somewhere "in this country" there is also less tolerance. If there is little "genuine hostility" between the peoples which populate Georgia, then somewhere "in this country", one can assume, it really a blazing conflagration.

Here is such a position.

We will call this a class position, it will be more correct in this way. Not conscience, but class instinct and the professional ways of the young British journalist of American manufacture (D. (Sattor) is a native of Chicago and, judging from everything, he developed under the influence of the morals which prevail in this city) enjoined him so to shift the stresses in the report and to examine the facts from the standpoint that an absolutely distorted and, at the same time, externally most probable picture of recreated "reality" arose.

In reflecting on this information, I also fell to thinking about the trend toward weakened attention to the facts which is rather clearly displayed in our journalism. Yes, of course, facts--the basic "construction material" of printed propaganda, and the ability to interpret them interestingly, clearly, and from class positions is, perhaps, one of the chief professional merits of the journalist.

Nevertheless, the truism of the fact as the fundamental principle of propaganda needs not only repetition, but also affirmation in practice. For in practice it is not the "art of the fact" which we have thrust to the foreground because of a certain tradition, but the "art of the word," that is, so-called literary skill or "mastery of the pen."

The priority of the printed word over a fact goes back, it seems to me, to those times when it was adequate for a slogan, appeal, order, or goal.... Is not our "militarized" lexicon which faultlessly supplies us with such words and expressions as "struggle," "reaching forward positions," "moving in the vanguard," "broad front," "meet fully armed," and so forth also from those times?

However much you shout "khalva," it doesn't become sweeter in the mouth!--an ancient Eastern saying is shortened. Let us also shorten it. For the frequent and thoughtless repetition of the same words which are strained to the maximum not only does not stimulate the spiritual and physical energy of the reader but, on the contrary, often turns him away from the goals for which we seem to call on him to "fight." The too frequent repetition of the word "khalva" not only does not give the mouth a sensation of sweetness but it also dulls the meaning of the word itself in the consciousness. This is not idle reflection, but an objective law established by prominent Soviet psychologists. The law of the dying away of orientation in accordance with which the tendency toward perception dies away if the influence is repeated over and over.

By the way, about psychology. It is obvious that to the extent that a sphere of application of human forces exists, to that extent psychology also exists. There is also, of course, the psychology of propaganda which exists as a system of knowledge, in other words, as a science. It would be interesting to conduct a study in our corps of journalists to establish just how many of us are acquainted with at least the rudiments of this very psychology of propaganda.

Obviously, it is worth talking for a while especially about it and, for the present, again about the "art of the word." It is my conviction that the priority of word over fact, the art of the garish word, and the introduction of "military" words and terms in the information-propaganda lexicon correspond most of all to the period of extensive development of our economy and the country's national economy when the success of the matter was decided by the maximum straining of strength and the enthusiasm of large masses of people who were looked upon as participants in a tremendous battle where sacrifices, deprivations, losses, and waste were justified by the goal which was achieved and won. The slogan "Give Magnitka!" was related to the appeal "Give Perekop!" They came from the same root and the latter, in turn, originated in the social consciousness which was formed by the era. It was the glorious era of universal enthusiasm, self-denial, and self-sacrifice, and the labor record was equal to a soldierly exploit because, in essence, this is what it was--the one who accomplished it frequently risked his health and life, like a fighter and soldier whose profession and duty are to fight and, if necessary, to die in the name of victory. Dneproges [Dneiper Hydroelectric Power Plant imeni V. I. Lenin] and the development of Kolkhida, Komsomolsk-na-Amur, and Magnitka would have been impossible without such a "climate," and industrialization, collectivization, and the accomplishment of the first five-year plans would have been unthinkable. Finally, the rebuilding of the national economy under the conditions of the Patriotic War, the creation of the arsenals of victory, and the rise of the country from the ruins would also have been unthinkable.

A low bow to this glorious era and its journalism which is no less glorious! Generations learned from its experience; it went down in history as a golden page and still teaches us much. But we cannot transfer past experience to our time mechanically and thoughtlessly. Nevertheless, we are doing so without taking into consideration the conditions and requirements for intensification of public production where the improvement of the economic mechanism and planning and the combination of the principles of centralization and decentralization in control should ensure a rise in the efficiency of public production and where the conscientious attitude of each worker toward the matter comes forth as its mandatory precondition. Where the very tone of the conversation with him and the arguments and means of convincing should correspond to his social purpose, and the production tasks facing him, and the level of his development.

In other words, a society of mature, developed socialism needs mature, developed forms of social dialog in which the press, written or electronic, comes forth as one of the parties. Precisely a dialog, a democratic form of intercourse which corresponds to the deepening and expansion of democratic processes in the control of society and the economy. The printed, radio, and television monologue

which is spoken in a "patriarchal-enjoining" tone has become outdated as a means for convincing. It has become outdated, but it is living and prospering and is appearing in many guises and in many languages and being circulated in millions of copies of newspapers and thousands of hours of television and radio broadcasting....

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## INTERNATIONAL

### WESTERN TOURISTS REPORTED EXPELLED FROM USSR AS ZIONIST AGENTS

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 16 Feb 84 pp 1-2

[TASS item: "London Tourists Expelled from the USSR"]

[Text] Leningrad, February 15--London tourists Maurice and Susanne Schneider have been expelled from the USSR for an attempted smuggling of literature, classified by competent bodies as ideological contraband.

Responsibility for the sudden termination of the Schneiders' tour tests with the so-called Committee of 35, a Manchester-based Zionist organization. The committee's provocative activity comprises kindling nationalist sentiments among Soviet people, gathering and distributing deliberately false information about the alleged oppression of Jews in the USSR, direct incitement to emigrate from the Soviet Union, organization of anti-Soviet gatherings and actions abroad. Agents of the committee, as Maurice Schneider, a 47-year-old electrical engineer confessed, persuaded him and his wife Susanne, a 39-year-old teacher, to smuggle a batch of Zionist books of an anti-Soviet character and deliver them to certain addresses in Moscow and Leningrad. Besides, the husband and wife had been given a twenty-point questionnaire with the help of which they were to have gathered information about Jews inclined to leave the Soviet Union or serving sentences for criminal offences.

The Schneiders were caught during a customs examination at Leningrad's Pulkovo airport.

"I profoundly apologize for insulting the Soviet authorities," Maurice Schneider wrote in an explanatory note. His wife also repented fully of what she did.

A TASS correspondent has been told at the competent bodies that this is not the only instance when Zionist organizations use for their purposes too credulous or unscrupulous people. Thus, two weeks ago, Britons Kay Stekley and Gerny Masel were caught at Leningrad airport during an attempt to smuggle in Zionist literature. The same lot befell Jacov and Margit Haas from Denmark. US nationals Michael Weit and Kathie Schwartz tried to pass the customs in boots stuffed with deliberate slanderous information on the so-called "Jewish question."

The USSR's readiness for broad development of international tourism is well known. But this does not imply connivance to ideological smugglers.

(TASS, Feb. 15. In full.) Translated by TASS

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## INTERNATIONAL

### LAO ECONOMIC SUCCESSES, PROBLEMS SURVEYED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 12, Dec 83 pp 19-22

[Article by V. Zakharov: "Laos: According to the Calendar of the Revolution"]

[Excerpts]

The Laotian people can justly pride itself of the fruits of the first major steps taken along the path of building the foundations of the socialist society pointed to by the People's Revolutionary Party. The past 8 years of life of the young republic have not been easy. But already owing to the fulfillment of the Three-Year Plan for Socio-Economic Development (1978-1980) the gross national product increased by 43 percent and per capita income increased by 40 percent. This favorable trend also persists during the current five-year plan period (1981-1985).

The most significant accomplishments were made in agriculture, which is the basis of the country's economy. The gross output of agriculture and forestry has grown 1.5 fold. The 1981 rice harvest reached the record level of 1,154,000 tons compared with 700,000 tons in 1976. Thus, the problem of food self-sufficiency was solved in practice. This year, despite the unfavorable weather, the Laotian agricultural toilers have been struggling to harvest the planned 1.2 million tons of rice. The livestock population has been steadily growing and in 1982 reached 1,369,000 head of cattle, 1,223,000 hogs, and nearly 6 million head of poultry. Beginning in 1978, and particularly after the Third Congress of the Laos People's Revolutionary Party, the movement to establish agricultural cooperatives spread throughout the country. In addition to 1,943 cooperatives, 31 state farms and forestry establishments were organized. Measures are being taken to introduce intensive techniques of the conduct of agriculture and agro- and zootechnics and to promote irrigation and land reclamation. The overall area of reclaimed lands has increased by 33.5 percent and the area of land under irrigation has doubled. The agricultural machinery pool has quintupled.

Considerable advances have also been made in reconstructing and expanding industry. Compared with 1976, power generation has increased by a factor of 3.6; the output of building materials, by a factor of 15; the output of farming implements, by a factor of 1.5; and food-industry output, by a factor of 1.5. Six hundred kilometers of new roads were built. Dozens of inhabited areas were resurrected from ashes.

The standing of the state sector in industry and trade is being strengthened. The state administers 188 industrial enterprise employing 15,000 workers, the entire aviation and 60 percent of motor transport. State construction and transport organizations have been established. One hundred and eighty state stores and 356 cooperative stores operate in the country, and their goods turnover has quintupled since 1976. A national bank has been established. A uniform financial-monetary system has been introduced in the republic and measures are being taken to bring order into pricing, wages, credit, taxation, state insurance, etc.

Major accomplishments have been scored in the era of popular rule in culture, education and public health. Illiteracy has already been virtually eliminated. Enrollment in academic and vocational-technical schools has doubled and the number of teachers has increased by a factor of 4.4. About 10,000 Laotians are receiving higher and special secondary education in the fraternal socialist countries. A total of 1.65 million books has been published. Compared with 1976 the number of hospitals has doubled and the number of medical workers at all levels reaches 10,000.

The first achievements on the path of social and economic progress have been noted with pride and, in posing ambitious tasks for the future, the party and government of the Laos People's Democratic Republic, make no secret that today the Laotian people need to overcome significant difficulties. For the time being there is still a universal and acute shortage of trained personnel in the country. The irregularities in supplying the national economy with the needed imports of raw materials, spare parts and fuel have not been overcome. Plan discipline is not always what it should be. The deficit of the balance of payments and of trade still persists. The foreign indebtedness of Laos is rising.

Many unsolved problems exist in the sphere of distribution. The consumer markets are still dominated by private individuals who dictate the prices of food and necessities. This creates a particularly difficult situation for the blue- and white-collar personnel of state enterprises and establishments as well as for the warriors of the People's Army and the security forces, whose wages are based on fixed state prices. Hence, Laotians have widely responded to the party's appeal to add to the country's food output by farming private land plots.

As was pointed out at the Third Congress of the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos, at the present stage a ferocious battle for supremacy between the forces of socialism and capitalism is proceeding in the country. The enemies of the young republic attempt to exploit for their subversive purposes the difficulties being experienced by the people's rule. In August the newspaper PASASON again appealed to working people for greater vigilance in face of the growing psychological offensive of the counter-revolution which, with the aid of sabotage, diversionary activities, and propaganda work with unstable elements, attempts to undermine the faith of the nation in the policy of the party and state and disrupt the process of the socialist restructuring of the Laotian society.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### GHANAIAN MILITARY REGIME'S POLITICAL, ECONOMIC MEASURES LAUDED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 12, Dec 83 pp 34-36

[Article by Yu. Savitskiy: "A Difficult Period of Change"]

[Excerpts] Ghana's most pleasant season begins in May. It rejoices the heart of the farmer enjoying his handiwork—the shoots of corn, yam, cassava and other crops germinating in concert and usually yielding a good harvest following copious rains.

But this year the rains were markedly late and there was an unusually prolonged and acute drought accompanied by extensive fires. As a result, 120,000 hectares of farmland planted with cocoa, the oil-bearing palm, yam and many other food crops were burned.

Kwame Afful, the coordinator of the People's Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (PCDR's) in the Eastern Province, said: "Of course, the drought contributed to the spontaneous combustion. Not infrequently fires occurred owing to the carelessness of hunters. But deliberate arson of plantations and farm buildings also took place."

"The revolution of 31 December 1981 gave power to the popular masses of Ghana. The PCDR's are cells of people's power providing the support for the attempts of the country's leadership to compensate for some extent for the absence of a vanguard political party and orient the struggle of the working people for a better life. The PCDR activists in our province have organized the building of roads to transport the harvest from the hinterlands and mobilized the local population for combatting fires, protecting the crops against damage and colonizing virgin and neglected lands. They have become the terror of smugglers, bribe-takers, speculators and other anti-social elements. It is quite natural, therefore, that their activities meet with fierce resistance from the enemies of the revolution. For all the uniqueness of the situation in our country, a veritable class struggle somewhat resembling that described in Sholokhov's novel "The Virgin Soil Uplifted" is taking place in the Ghanaian countryside," Kwame Afful pointed out. "Recently, in particular, 12 PCDR activists from Pito Village were brutally beaten while cultivating a neglected plot of land. Many instances of the beatings and persecution of our activists occurred on 19 June 1983 when rebels who had temporarily captured Ghana's



radio station announced that they were supposedly abolishing the Provisional Council for National Defense--PCND--headed by Jerry Rawlings."

It should be added to K. Afful's statement that the enemies of the revolution are attempting to instigate religious dissension and tribal quarrels; they are damaging livestock and attempting to infiltrate their people into the leadership of the PCDR and discredit the policy of the PCND.

Late last December J. Rawlings, the chairman of the PCND, announcing the beginning of fulfilling the plan for decentralization of the Ghanaian state administration. As pointed out in the declaration by the PCND secretary, the purpose of the decentralization is the "creation of democracy of a new type that would promote a more efficient operation of the apparatus of state by mobilizing broad popular masses for participation in it." The declaration pointed out: "The administration of state should be restructured so that working people in their localities would sense that power belongs to them." The process of decentralization has affected the ministries and other civil services, whose work is being reorganized. Essentially, the new system of administering the state consists in being based on regional, city and village councils, administered in cooperation with the local people's committees for the defense of the revolution.

The PCND has thoroughly analyzed the situation of the Ghanaian economy and concluded that the normal functioning of the country's industry and infrastructure is highly dependent on imports. The fact that cocoa alone is the crop providing most of convertible-currency revenues impedes the economic development of Ghana. In the opinion of the PCND, the problem of the low level of production and the still persisting unemployment has grown to the scale of a national crisis. The leadership of Ghana views the way out of that crisis to consist in the creation of a self-sufficient economy which should primarily meet the urgent needs of the Ghanaian people. The Council has drafted a program for national mobilization which was broadly discussed by representatives of state, combined and private enterprises, as well as of various organizations in the country. The ultimate goal of that program is to lay the foundations for Ghana's economic independence. It is proposed to organize production of new goods and to improve the distribution of currently existing goods and services. The program provides for an accelerated development of rural regions and reducing the developmental gap between town and country as well as solving the unemployment problem. It also outlines measures to provide rural regions with electricity and transport and to build in them housing, roads, schools, hospitals and cultural-communal institutions.

As the primary fund for implementing the above program, the Ghanaian government has allocated 500 million cedi. The Bank for Agricultural Development, the Cooperative Bank and the Commercial Bank in Ghana were instructed to allocate 250 million cedi for the urgent needs of farmers, primarily rice and corn growers.

The people's committees for the defense of the revolution have become the principal motive power in fulfilling the national mobilization program in the country. They organize peasants into production and marketing cooperatives and establish socialized farms. The income received from the sales of agricultural produce grown on such farms is used to finance the construction of schools, medical establishments and roads.

Ghana's government is taking resolute measures to reconstruct the plantations of cocoa and savings of other food crops that were destroyed by the prolonged drought and fires. In particular, it has decided to compensate the farmers by paying them for a period of 2 years 600 cedi annually for every half-hectare of the cocoa crop destroyed by the fires. Forty thousand people participate in carrying out the nationwide campaign for replanting cocoa.

Changes also are taking place in Ghana's gold-mining industry.

A. Barko, a graduate of the Moscow Geologic-Prospecting Institute imeni Sergo Ordzhonikidze, representative of the Provisional Leading Committee of the Ghanaian State Gold Mining Corporation, declares: "Our experts have drafted a program whose implementation would serve to augment the mining of gold so much that the metal could become the motive power for the accelerated development of Ghana's economy. The program provides for a marked expansion of gold mining through the modernization of the existing and abandoned mines and quarries, the discovery of new placer deposits, and the reprocessing of gangue. The mines in Prestea, Tarkwa, Conongo and Obwasi alone could produce 840,000 ounces of gold a year. This is a lot considering that in 1980 the overall output of all the mines of the Corporation was only 108,800 ounces."

Only the first yet resolute measures have been taken to curtail the domination of the Ghanaian economy by the transnational corporations. Ghana's Ministry of Labor and Social Services has appointed a special commission with the task of investigating the abuses committed by the management of a factory of Allied Foods Ltd. -- an affiliate of Cadbury-Schweppes, a company controlled by British capital. In mid-1982 the management of that factory had directly deceived the government of Ghana by reporting to it that it had to discharge 165 Ghanaian workers owing to a shortage of raw materials, spare parts and funds. However, an investigation revealed that the true reason for their discharge was because they insisted on their legitimate rights and demanded to participate in managing the factory. The government of Ghana rescinded any dismissals of personnel at the country's enterprises in cases in which they are done without previous consultation with the government and a thorough official investigation of the situation at the affected enterprises. This has resulted in restricting the high-handedness of the management of Allied Foods, Ltd. and other enterprises.

Last November the government of Ghana nationalized the Ghana Textile Printing factory, owned by the United Africa Company--an affiliate of the Anglo-Dutch concern Unilever. The former managers of that factory had artificially created shortages of raw materials to provide a reason for discharging 565 Ghanaian workers and thus shutting down production. However, the workers took over the management of the factory and prevented its shutdown. At the

beginning, the state has allocated convertible currency for the acquisition of raw materials for the factory, and subsequently the growing of cotton was organized on a 100-hectare plantation upon the initiative of workers. The output of textiles at the Ghana Textile Printing factory is continuing. Commenting on this achievement of workers, the newspaper 'NSAMANKOU' pointed out that they demonstrated convincingly what people are capable of if their labor is free and serves the interests of the nation rather than of a handful of exploiters.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### KURDS AND THE KURDISH QUESTION

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 12, Dec 83 pp 36-39

[Article by M. Lazarev, doctor of historical sciences: "Kurds and the Kurdish Question" under the rubric "Replies to Readers"]

[Text] IN HIS LETTER TO THE EDITORS B. YE. RASKOPOV, A REGULAR READER OF THIS PERIODICAL, ASKS FOR INFORMATION ABOUT THE KURDS: THEIR ORIGIN, LANGUAGE, FEATURES OF SOCIO-POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE KURDISH QUESTION. WE ARE SATISFYING THIS REQUEST. [printed in boldface]

The Kurds are the largest ethnic group in the Near East to be so far deprived of their national rights. Yet this people is among the most ancient native peoples of Southwest Asia. It is reliably known to have existed since as far back as in the 2nd millenium B.C. The Kurds invariably participated in all notable military, political and cultural events of once famed empires and the present countries in the region. Many outstanding military captains were Kurds (for example, Saladdin, the renowned victor over the Crusaders), as have been statesmen and luminaries of literature and art. Kurds have greatly contributed to the national-liberation movement of the peoples of Turkey, Iran and the Arabic countries against colonialism as well as to the broad struggle being waged nowadays in that region against imperialism and reaction. Hence, constant interest in the Kurdish people, in its history, culture and current situation, is more than justified.

First of all, Kurds should be characterized as a completely autonomous people with its own explicit ethnic features, as demonstrated by irrefutable scientific data. This should be emphasized, because to this day chauvinist circles in certain Near Eastern countries attempt to refute the ethnic separateness of Kurds and number them among Turks or Persians or Arabs--in the best case regarding them as a special ethnographic group. Yet an overwhelming majority of Kurds form a ethnic community in the linguistic and geographical sense. They have their own language, Kurdish, which belongs in the group of West Iranian languages. This is a sophisticated language having an ancient history, which gave birth to an enormously rich literature. Its special feature is the abundance of dialects grouped in two basic forms--Northwestern (or Northern) and Southeastern (Southern or Central). The former group is named Kirmanji and the latter, most often Sorani. It is precisely in these forms that modern Kurdish literary language is developing. Kirmanji employs a

specially adapted Latin alphabet and Soran<sup>4</sup> the Arabic alphabet. The Kurds of the Soviet Union use the Russian Cyrillic alphabet.

Despite its differing literary forms, dialects and alphabets, the Kurdish language has already been serving for several centuries as a material foundation for the development of an autonomous and single Kurdish national culture which has produced notable popular and professional works of literature and art and made a substantial contribution to the civilization of the peoples of Southwest Asia. This alone refutes the fabrications of all those who deny the ethnonational autonomy of the Kurdish people.

The Kurdish people has been inhabiting for ages the same extensive territory in the southwestern part of the Asian continent, which has been named for it as early as in the 12th century--Kurdistan (land of the Kurds). This name is merely of ethnographic importance. Kurdistan does not, of course, have fixed political boundaries and hence all figures on its location and area are of a very approximate and estimated nature.

The land of the Kurds is located roughly between latitudes 34 and 40 north and longitudes 38 and 48 east, occupying the entire central part of a rectangle bounded to the northwest and southwest by the Black and Mediterranean seas and to the northeast and southeast by the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf. From west to east its territory extends for approximately 1,000 kilometers and from north to south, 300-500 kilometers. The overall area of this territory exceeds 450,000 square kilometers, which makes it nearly twice as large as that of England or the FRG. About one-half lies in modern Turkey; more than 150,000 square kilometers lie within Iran; and of the remainder up to 75,000 square kilometers are in Iraq and 15,000 in Syria. Some Kurds live outside these confines (in western Turkey, northeastern Iran, Lebanon, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the republics of the Soviet Transcaucasus and Central Asia).

Thus, Kurdistan is geographically divided among four Near Eastern countries and directly belongs in the sphere of their domestic life and foreign relations. The lands populated by the Kurds are close to the southern (Transcaucasian) frontier of the Soviet Union. All this accounts for their great importance in not just Near Eastern but world politics.

However, the role of Kurdistan in the world arena is not determined by its location alone. We can identify two other major factors: terrain relief and natural resources. Kurdistan is mostly mountainous country, crisscrossed by the ranges of the so-called Armenian-Kurdish Uplands and the Zagros montane system; some of its summits exceed 3,000 to 4,000 meters in altitude. Hence the entire Kurdistan is as it were a natural land fortress of difficult access especially in winter, which is usually frosty with heavy snowfall.

The principal factor in Kurdistan's natural wealth is, of course, oil. Its best-known oilfields in Kirkuk (Iraqi Kurdistan) contain the world's most productive wells (5,000 to 10,000 tons daily), and to them also belongs the world record in petroleum extraction per linear meter of drilled wells (3,300 tons), in extraction cost (in the mid-1960s: 4.2 cents per barrel compared with 151 cents in the United States, 63 in Venezuela, 9.8 in Kuwait and 9.5 in Saudi Arabia). Extensive petroleum deposits are also being extracted in other regions of Iraqi, Iranian, Turkish and Syrian Kurdistan or in their immediate

proximity (suffice it to mention the world's richest reservoir of the "black gold" in the region of the Persian Gulf). Kurdish lands also abound in other minerals, of which the most valuable are the chromium ore deposits in Turkish Kurdistan. Kurdistan's hydroelectric power resources harbor a tremendous economic potential. Lastly, the country is endowed with favorable possibilities for the development of forestry and agriculture, and especially for raising small horned cattle in view of the abundance of high-grade pasturelands.

Kurds account for an overwhelming majority of the population of Kurdistan. Exact figures are lacking, but according to various estimates the Kurdish majority in various parts of Kurdistan ranges from more than 0.75 to 0.9 of the total population. At present there exist about 20 million Kurds, of whom more than 80 percent live in Kurdistan. It has been estimated that about 47 percent of all Kurds live in Turkey, more than 31 percent in Iran, about 16 percent in Iraq, 3.5 percent in Syria, 1 percent in the USSR and 1.5 percent in other countries. From these figures follow at least two important conclusions. First, Kurds at present are the most numerous nation in the world to be denied its national rights (with the exception, of course, of Kurds in the USSR). Secondly, they are the largest ethnic minority in all of the Near Eastern countries among which Kurdistan is partitioned: in Turkey they account for 23.8 percent of the entire population; in Iran, 16 percent; in Iraq, 28 percent; in Syria, 11 percent. From these statistics alone ensues the entire importance and acuteness of the Kurdish problem.

As for their religion, an overwhelming majority of Kurds are Sunni Moslems and about one-fourth are Shiites (mainly supporters of an extremist Shiite sect, the Ali-Allah or Ahl-i, which in Turkey is termed Alavi). About 200,000 Kurds are Yezidis, followers of a special cult which combines the attributes of Islam with elements of ancient Eastern faiths. In the opinion of certain authoritative Orientalists, Yezidism is a native Kurdish religion which was transformed under the influence of Islam.

At the same time, Islamic teachings have not taken deep root among the Kurdish popular masses. There is a noteworthy Turkish saying: "Compared with the infidel, even a Kurd is a Muslim." It appears that for this reason a network of heretical--from the standpoint of Orthodox Islam--dervish orders and sects playing a major role in the religious-social and cultural life of Kurds had been highly developed in the past and has partially survived in our times.

In the level of their socio-economic and cultural development the Kurds are a typical Eastern nation. The lands populated by Kurds lie in the countries of developing capitalism with pronounced relics of feudal and even pre-feudal social relations. The Kurdish regions are characterized by a lower level of the development of economy, social relations and culture compared with the regions populated by Turks, Persians and Arabs. This is due to many causes, both historical and political, which generally reduce to conditions that are extremely unfavorable to socio-economic and cultural progress, conditions in which the Kurdish nation has lived in the past and lives now, being deprived of the right to self-determination.

Thus, in Kurdish society there still persist strong relics of clan and tribal relations. The recent past of Kurdish history--the partitioning of the entire nation into tribes and tribal alliances (confederations) still exerts

its influence, particularly in Iranian and Iraqi Kurdistan. Having incorporated certain characteristic attributes of the tribal system, a unique system of feudal relations based on the economic privileges and political power of the Kurdish secular and clerical feudal lords (who also are, as a rule, tribal leaders) exists in many of its visible features in all parts of Kurdistan.

In our times, however, this traditional structure of the Kurdish society has largely changed under the influence of unavoidable progress. The development of capitalism (in which the Turkish Kurdistan leads) results in undermining the positions of the Kurdish feudal lords as well as in the appearance of big landlords managing their farms by the capitalist method and also of the "urban" national bourgeoisie, initially mercantile but now also industrial; the middle classes are growing and cadres of the Kurdish proletariat are forming. The rise of urbanization, migration (to regions extremely distant from native ones as well as nomadic life) and the emigration of Kurdish manpower (chiefly from Turkey) to the countries of the "Common Market" are rapidly disintegrating the tribal relations and their economic basis--nomadic cattle raising. This objectively progressive process is at its most advanced in Turkish Kurdistan, but it gradually is spreading to the other regions of the "country of the Kurds" as well.

However, contemporary Kurdish society stands at a fairly low level of social relations. Its reactionary ideological-political attitudes dating from as far back as pre-capitalist times influence to this day all aspects of its life.

This affects directly the situation of the Kurdish popular masses. They experience the entire burden of the transition period currently existing in the economy of the Kurd-populated lands now that the traditional methods of economy characteristic of the so-called "nomadic feudalism" are disintegrating and the developing capitalism has not yet resulted in a marked upsurge in the productive forces. The decline of traditional cattle grazing, that foundation of the economy of Kurdish tribes, is not being accompanied by an intensification of agricultural production in cattle raising and farming. The insufficient development of industry and infrastructure in Kurdistan is resulting in an acute shortage of jobs for the pauperized peasants and artisans. Searching for employment, as they migrate to the industrial centers of the countries they inhabit, as well as abroad, the Kurdish workers find, in view of their low educational level, mostly unskilled jobs and are subject to a particularly intense exploitation.

The economic and social situation of the Kurdish working people is much worse than that of the Turkish, Arab and Persian workers, peasants and artisans. This can be seen if only from the following figures: The per capita income in Iranian Kurdistan in 1975 was only US\$150 compared with US\$1,340 per capita for Iran as a whole. In Iraq the Kurdish regions receive less than 10 percent of the funds allocated for developing the country; of the 150 industrial projects only 4 are scheduled to be built in Kurdish regions, although this is precisely where the raw materials (for example, for ferrous metallurgy, let alone crude petroleum) are available. In Turkish Kurdistan in 1970 there was one physician to every 10,000 inhabitants whereas for Turkey as a whole this indicator was 4.3. In Iranian Kurdistan there are entire regions with a population of more than 20,000 that lack even a single physician. More than 50 percent of all families in Iranian Kurdistan live in one-room dwellings, and



more than 80 percent of all houses are adobe huts or dug-outs. The population of Iranian and Iraqi Kurdistan has benefited much less than did the population of the other, more developed regions of Iran and Iraq from the influx of "petrodollars" streaming into these countries in the last 10 years owing to the multiple increases of the prices of crude petroleum.

Thus, the Kurd-populated regions of Turkey, Iran and the Arab countries are underdeveloped and backward even compared with the generally quite low indicators (compared with the level of the highly industrialized countries) characterizing the modern Near Eastern countries. Such is the result of the centuries-long oppression of Kurds by the ruling circles and dominant classes of the countries among which Kurdistan was partitioned.

The Kurdish people have been exploited and oppressed by both the ruling circles of the Near Eastern countries and the imperialist powers, which had long controlled Kurdistan directly or indirectly (especially in Iraq, which had been under England's heel for 40 years). It is natural that such a situation has strewn the path of national development of the Kurdish people with numerous and serious obstacles. On the other hand, the forces of domestic and foreign reaction have always exploited for their own selfish purposes the socio-economic and cultural backwardness of the Kurds (e.g. inter-tribal quarrels and the obscurantism and illiteracy of the masses). As a result, the Kurdish question was and remains one of the most complex and relatively insoluble nationality problems of the Near Eastern region.

The Kurds are a people with an unquenchable love of freedom. Their entire history is replete with liberation uprisings against foreign oppression. The ultimate failure of these revolts in ancient times is attributable to the feudal disunity reigning in Kurdistan as well as to the might of the military empires which constantly partitioned and devastated Kurdish lands. In the 19th century, in connection with the decline of the Ottoman Empire and the Iran of the Shahs, which had as far back as in the early 16th century divided Kurdistan between themselves, the Kurdish liberation movement grew much broader and more active. It turned into a genuinely national movement, because its ultimate aim was the establishment of a united Kurdish state.

However, major obstacles barred the path toward the realization of the national aspirations of the Kurdish people. The principal obstacle was the intensified intervention by colonial powers, which endeavored to exploit the weakening of Ottoman Turkey and Iran in order to gain in them economically and strategically important possessions. To this end, they broadly exploited national movements by trying to enlist them as pro-imperialist agents, setting them against each other, bribing the feudal-tribal and clerical elite, etc. The ethnic minorities of the Ottoman Empire and Iran, fighting for their freedom, gained nothing from this intervention. On the contrary, their situation, including that of Kurds, became in many respects more complicated and even worse. As a result, following World War I, the fragmentation of the Kurdish nation had increased. The Kurds who previously had lived in the Arabic possessions of Turkey now found themselves in Iraq and Syria, the former being under British colonial administration and the latter under French. The direct introduction of imperialism in Kurdistan raised new obstacles on the path toward solving the Kurdish national question.



On the other hand, the post-October surge of the revolutionary wave spreading throughout the world and the advent of the era of the crisis and decay of the colonial system of imperialism unlocked before the Kurdish people unprecedented prospects. It is precisely this that was of decisive importance to the destinies of the Kurdish people rather than the temporary difficulties arisen owing to the greater activism of imperialism in the Near Eastern arena. An important stimulus to the Kurds was the experience of the Soviet Union in solving the nationality question and especially the provision of all conditions for a free national development to the Kurds in our country, who chiefly live in the republics of the Transcaucasus.

In the 1920s and 1930s a mighty wave of Kurdish uprisings directed against imperialist dominance and the chauvinist policies of the Near Eastern countries on the Kurdish problem rolled across Turkey, Iran and Iraq. Kurds again sustained a defeat. In not one of these countries did they achieve even a partial satisfaction of their legitimate demands. This was due to the military-political weakness of these uprisings, the survival of backward social ideals in the Kurdish society and, lastly, an international situation that was unfavorable to Kurds. Even so that was a period of the transition of the Kurdish national movement to a new stage in which the urgent need to overcome feudal-tribal methods of warfare and establish effective mass political organizations capable of mobilizing the entire nation made itself clearly felt. The lessons of the period between the two world wars benefited the Kurdish nation during the upsurge of its liberation struggle toward the end of and after World War II.

The historic changes in the world that occurred after World War II signaled the onset of a new stage in the Kurdish national movement. In its motive powers, leadership and nature of its struggle this movement can be characterized as a revolutionary-democratic one, although from the class standpoint it combines a rather broad spectrum of forces. The struggle of Kurds for national self-determination on a democratic basis was launched on a broad front and in this connection social motifs reflecting the class interests of precisely the working masses acquire ever greater significance.

The movement was headed by the Democratic Party of Kurdistan (DPK) which arose immediately after the end of World War II in Iran and, essentially, combined all the patriotic forces of the Kurdish society fighting for self-determination. Subsequently, parties bearing the same name were established in Iraq and Turkey. The DPK has played an important organizational role in the postwar upsurge of the Kurdish movement in Iran and in the national movement of the Iraqi Kurds during the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s. The Iranian and Iraqi Kurdistan has been the principal arena of national struggle throughout the postwar period, and its acknowledged leader was (until the mid-1970s) Mustafa Barzani, the head of the Iraqi DPK and the most eminent though also contradictory figure in the 20th-century Kurdish national movement.

The results of the selfless struggle of the Kurdish nation for its legitimate rights have been equivocal. They reflect not only the entire complexity and contradictory nature of the situation in the Near Eastern and world arena but also the historically conditioned unevenness of the socio-economic and internal-political development in various parts of Kurdistan. Thus, the Turkish Kurds have failed to accomplish anything and their situation

continues to be hopeless. They are denied any manifestation of national life, including the right to learn their native language in schools and publish literature in it. Under the official chauvinistic doctrine, the Kurds of Turkey are often called "mountain Turks" and any political activism among them is cruelly suppressed.

The situation in Iranian Kurdistan is somewhat different. There, for a number of objective reasons, conditions for the development of the Kurdish national movement were present. Soon after World War I, for the first time in Kurdish history, an autonomous republican regime with its capital in Mekhabad had been established in Iranian Kurdistan, but toward the end of 1946 it was broken up by the combined forces of Iranian reaction and imperialism. During the subsequent more than 30 years the Shah's despotic government had brutally suppressed the Kurdish national movement in the country (the official propaganda termed Kurds "Persians who have temporarily lost their national tradition"), but it did so somewhat flexibly, attempting at the same time to manipulate for selfish purposes the Kurdish movement in the neighboring Iraq. The Islamic Revolution and shortly afterward the Iran-Iraq war again made acute the Kurdish problem in Iran. It is now perfectly clear that the need to solve the nationality question, including the Kurdish question, in Iran has become more obvious than ever.

The Kurdish national movement reached its largest extent in Iraq. Ever since 1961 (with interruptions) periodic uprisings which could not be suppressed by government troops have been breaking out in Iraq. They ceased only after the new government in Baghdad, which gained power in 1968, made major concessions. The law adopted on 11 March 1974, which recognized the rights of Kurds to territorial autonomy, may not have satisfied all the demands of Kurds (especially as regards the territorial question) and may not have been enforced in letter and spirit as fully as it should have been but still it is of historic significance. It provides a precedent pointing to the direction in which an approach can be made to solving the Kurdish problem.

The 20-million Kurdish nation living in all parts of Kurdistan is achieving its rights, at least elementary ones at first, and struggling for self-determination which nowadays means national autonomy. This struggle is protracted and difficult and the enemies of the Kurdish nation have erected quite a few serious obstacles on the path toward its end-goal. But there already exist encouraging signs that the need for a radical easing of the difficult situation of the Kurds is being recognized increasingly broadly.

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## NATIONAL

### BRIEFS

NEW WEEKLY--Moscow, 15 Feb, TASS--The first issue is now in preparation of the weekly "SOBESEDNIK" (INTERLOCUTOR)--an illustrated addition to the newspaper "KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA." Our task is to seek topics causing Soviet youth to think about and discuss, Timofei Kuznetsov, editor of the publication, told the TASS correspondent. The editorial board's "portfolio" includes much material on the democratism of the Soviet way of life, the fundamental values and advantages of socialism, and on the young people of today who are building a new society. We are also thinking about a series of interviews and reports on the life of young people in the West. In the sixteen pages of the "SOBESEDNIK," Timofei Kuznetsov said, youth will get diverse information on science, culture, sports and hobbies. It is planned to start with a circulation of one million. [Excerpts] [LD160206 Moscow TASS in English 1250 GMT 15 Feb 84 LD]

CSO: 1812/138

## REGIONAL

### KAZAKH CP BURO DISCUSSES AGRICULTURE AT 8 FEBRUARY MEETING

GF081706 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Russian 1510 GMT 8 Feb 84

[Text] At its regular meeting, the buro of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee reviewed the question of further increasing the production of milk, potatoes and fruit products on the farms of Alma-Ata Oblast with the aim of improving the supply of these products to the population of Alma-Ata city. Taking into account the considerable role played by the Alma-Ata [word indistinct] canal in water supply to the arable lands, the Central Committee buro affirmed the concrete measures for further increasing the production and purchases of the oblast's farms and for improving the production of agricultural and livestock products.

It envisages expanding the area cultivated with potatoes, vegetables and fruits to increase their crop yields. The attention of the party, Soviet and agricultural organs was turned to the [word indistinct] production of milk and other products. Measures were worked out for further increasing the production of milk and for improving its quality. Measures for strengthening the fodder base and for improving the quality of fodder were also specified.

The question of the shortcomings in the construction of the republic's trade and public catering enterprises was also discussed. Taking into account the great importance of these enterprises in improving the living conditions of workers, the buro of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee directed the [word indistinct] operating ministries and departments, the executive committees of the local people's deputies councils to take concrete measures for eliminating the shortcomings and for fulfilling the construction tasks of the trade and public catering enterprises during 1984 and during the 5-Year Plan period as a whole.

The question of the additional production of consumer goods at the republic's enterprises during the current year was reviewed. The adopted resolution envisages plans to assimilate new kinds of products [words indistinct] and to improve the quality of the goods and to expand their [word indistinct].

The question of further improving gas supply to the industrial enterprises and projects of cultural, housing and municipal significance in Alma-Ata city and Alma-Ata Oblast and on conducting in the republic [words indistinct] detachments marking the 30th anniversary of the beginning of [word indistinct], and other questions were also reviewed.



REGIONAL

REPORTAGE ON ARMENIAN SSR RECEIVING ORDER OF RED BANNER

Award Announced

GF261956 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, All-Union Trade Union Council and All-Union Komsomol Central Committee have named the seven winning republics in the emulation campaign waged to fulfill the 1983 USSR socioeconomic development plan, among which is Soviet Armenia, which has been awarded the order of red banner.

The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, All-Union Trade Union Council and All-Union Komsomol Central Committee also awarded the order of red banner to Yerevan and Kirovakan cities and Akhuryan and Echmiadzin rayons.

Also among the award winners are 26 work collectives of the republic, 12 of which will be listed at the Soviet Union national economy achievements exhibition and in all-union order of honor.

Demirchyan Receives Award

GF291850 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 29 Feb 84

[Text] Due to the high results achieved in all-union socialist emulation and the successful fulfillment of the 1983 state plan for social and economic development, for eight consecutive times, the Armenian Republic has been awarded the order of red banner of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, Trade Unions Central Council, and the Komsomol Central Committee.

On 27 February, a gala meeting was held at the Spandaryan opera and ballet state academy theatre hall to convey this high award on the republic.

Leonid Smirnov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium, warmly congratulated the Armenian workers for receiving this great labor victory and honorable award.

Karen Demirchyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, delivered a reply address. He expressed profound gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, Trade Unions Central Council, and the Komsomol Central Committee for their high appreciation of the Armenian workers' efforts.

## REGIONAL

### RUSAKOV VISITS ARMENIA

[Editorial Report] Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 10 Feb 84 carries on page 1 a 100-word announcement of the arrival of CPSU Central Committee Secretary K. V. Rusakov in Yerevan on 9 February. Among the officials who greeted Rusakov at the airport were the Chairman on the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, B. Ye. Sarkisov, the chairman of the ArSSR Council of Ministers, F. T. Sarkisyan and the chief of the Political Administration of the Red Banner Transcaucasian Military District, Lieutenant General A. I. Shirinkin. The same newspaper on 11 February 1984 carries on page 2 a 200-word article describing Rusakov's itinerary, which included visits to monuments and factories in Yerevan, Garni and Gegard, and Leninakan in the company of Sarkisov and various local officials. A 50-word announcement of Rusakov's departure on 1 February follows on the same page.

CSO: 1830/315

## REGIONAL

### BRIEFS

NEW KIRGHIZ NEWSPAPER--A new Kirghiz newspaper, Kirghizistan OKUTUCUSU [Kirghiz TEACHER] is now being published in Frunze, the capital of the Kirghiz SSR. It is being published by the Kirghiz Ministry of Education, education officials and scholars. In addition to discussing various topics dealing with popular education, the newspaper also reports on the contemporary experiences of the over 50,000 teachers in the Kirghiz SSR and the level of work achieved by university and secondary school boarding houses. At the present, there are over 1,600 secondary schools in the Kirghiz SSR and education is free. The number of people who could read and write were very few in the Kirghiz SSR until the socialist revolution. There were only one or two schools. That was all. Only the children of the upper class studied in these schools. [Text] [GF081724 Tashkent International Service in Uzbek 1700 GMT 7 Feb 84]

CSO: 1836/35

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